/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum [533] is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

● 857 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [777] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on P351]

/235 cont./

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(1) Firing Mud Guns

A number of children gather together, each getting soft mud from a field and molding it into the shape of a bowl or basin, with a hole or several holes at the top. After they are finished, each child picks his up and smashes it on the ground, producing a resounding noise like the report of a gun (Illus. 117). When a mud gun falls on the ground and breaks without popping, then its owner is counted as losing and is eliminated from the contest, and helps the winner to make more guns. There are several kinds of mud guns, as in Illus. 118.

(2) Making Mud Coins

A quantity of clean clay earth is used. Water is added and molded into a small lump. Two large copper coins of the K'ang-hsi or Ch'ien-lung reign periods are used to press the earth to make a number of "coins." A thin stick is used to thread through the holes of the coins. These are rolled over a few times on the ground. Afterwards they are separated one from the other and dried in the sun. They are used in place of money to pay off losses in games. Each copper coin is worth 50 clay coins.

(3) Tattooing the Wrist

857
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Boys and girls about 12 or 13 years old, when having nothing else to do, often collect in groups of three to five in one place to amuse themselves by tattooing designs on each other's wrists. The method is as follows; First a long piece of hemp string is tied around the wrist, exposing the part to be tattooed, above which is tied another piece of string. At these two places the blood is stopped by being bound with the hemp string. Then the exposed part is hit with a piece of wood or bamboo until the skin becomes red, then purple. Then the desired design is lightly tattooed on it, causing the skin to bleed. Then color

/235 cont./

857 304 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away, revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 526 [177] [411] The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/, /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 [527] Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around with the wheel (Illus. 120). [533] Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not translated/). 539 773 526 The following song is about the origin of the swing:

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1960-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

people waded from one end of the pond to the other when it was about waist deep.

Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

They made their own rice wine. It was always on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

Children seemed always to have something to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

261 market without some small treat for them. Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest
857 pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear a new, long garment, belted in with a long blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 241 It has already been noted that men and women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kueiting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

855 more than two years old. However, then the mother seldom continued to take it with her, 855 for it could be left with older children in the 857 same part of the village if there was no one in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

857 Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

4:Mickey E-5 (1949-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

When they were a little older they watched animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches. 857

Children were indulged as far as the family could afford to do so. The choicest bits were often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that. 862 865

Only a few of the boys, and almost never a girl, went to the school less than half a mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao 872 177

[49a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family.

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon.

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly.

872 177 857 517 [535] 883 836 [496]

241 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa).. The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

Section 5

Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

855 hard toll of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons,
all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind.
This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the
weak, but those who resist su[illegible] regimen are then able to withstand
any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are
sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their
wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family.
If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst
of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage
in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on
this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember
that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I
passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the
post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned
that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls
who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
366] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little
rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is
properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped
under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong
or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself
assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts
are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha
who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma
phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

A M 857 123 [126] /58 cont./ watched us everywhere, while we had difficulty persuading them to continue their activities or their games in our presence. Finally, we had no other choice but to make our observations, as well as my Contax snapshots, with Zeiss-Tessar and Tele-Tessar lenses from carefully prepared concealments, such as house walls with holes in them and the like, for as soon as we had disappeared from sight, the children went back to their usual activities or romped about.

1. Children at Play and Work

A M 857 As soon as the children have outgrown babyhood, their activities during their free time are usually separated from those of the adults. No one stimulates the children at play; at most they are watched with amusement, but never interfered with, and the play of children is by no means regarded as a useless activity. They are made to work, but during their free time they are allowed to do as they please.

The children of the Meau, as well as those of the Akha, are very fond of play and very active. They never loiter about; as a rule one can say that an inactive child is sick. Otherwise they are altogether enterprising and [redacted] and in this respect there is no change in the various stages of childhood. M 834 857 There are, to be sure, groups of boys and of girls, which I shall come back to later on, but there is no strict separation among the Meau; boys and girls often play together. This is the natural result of the fact that children, regardless of sex, must take care of their younger siblings. /59/ A seven-year-old boy, for example, takes care of his three-year-old sister, whom he carries about with him in the child-carrier, just as readily as a little girl takes care of her younger brother.

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Miao AE5

/60 cont./

A 524 children of the Akha also have a special fondness for the tobacco pipes and knives of the adults (Ill. 18).[1] They are serenely entrusted with these objects, and it would make a European mother's hair stand on end if she could see how the little children handle the large, keen-edged knives. I never saw an accident, however. On the contrary, the children showed themselves to be surprisingly skillful and soon learned to be masterfully adept at using the dangerous implements.

A M 857 Play-acting of all kinds is very popular. In this I noticed that both the Akha and the Meau children frequently include their smaller siblings. The larger child, for instance, is the animal, the smaller one, the owner or shepherd. I repeatedly observed the children at "pig-driving" or "cattle-saddling." Another such game is the "father-and-mother game"; if dolls "play," too, the children are the parents and the dolls the children. These doll-children are usually made A M [524] of pieces of wood or fabric twisted together. The father-and-mother game in particular is happily played by boys and girls together. The hunting game also seems to be very popular. One child is the hunter, and the other children form a herd of deer or pigs. One child skins and cuts up the booty; another cuts the meat in strips in order to dry it in the air. The children have a great deal of imagination and are tireless in inventing such games.

A M 857 868 In these acting games the children attach no importance to facial expression, but more to an exact imitation of the sequence of events and the correct execution of the activity portrayed, which from their earliest years they have observed in adults. In this manner the children at play imitate all the activities of the adults. Long before they acquire the physical strength to do real work, they have an astonishing command of an activity. The girls, for example, learn all kinds of housework, such as cooking, sewing, wood-gathering (Ill. 15),[2] work in the fields, and the like, while the boys learn to hunt (Ill. 17 and Ill. 78),[3] set traps, chop wood, plait, and likewise field work. In short, the children learn all the work which

1 [See cat. 116, p 108 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , p 87 - "]
3 [" " " , p 576 - "]

/60 cont./

befits their sex. The doll, for example, is fed in the same manner as the mother /61/ is seen feeding the younger siblings at meals. These same meals are prepared for the dolls. The returning "hunters" are served liquor, and the world of the adults is incorporated in the play activity. The most popular games, however, are the "ball game" and the "laying out of a rice field," in which all the procedures, from the clearing away of the trees to the burning, from planting to harvesting, are carefully imitated.

Differences in the games according to age groups or sex cannot be established among either the Akha or Meau, because all age levels and both sexes play these games together. It can be said, however, that technical games are played only by the boys. To be sure, it never occurs to them to build a water wheel, but they are very skilled at making small traps, with which they catch smaller animals, such as birds, lizards, and the like. In only one instance did I see an Akha boy, about eight years of age, with a small windmill.

The children look for materials for their toys in their environment and therefore use stones, sand, loam, clay, bark, wood, grasses, and bast (Ill. 16). They work with this material and use it to make their toys. In this manner they turn out representations of small houses, animals, human beings, implements, weapons, and the like in play. Among small children the representation is not very true to life, but beginning with the sixth year the characteristic features are gradually brought out more. Boys at the age of eight are already able to model quite realistically in clay, and even riders on horseback are clearly recognizable. The Meau children dress their clay dolls in palm-leaf skirts, to indicate the pleated skirts; in place of the turban small colorful pieces of cloth are used. In accordance with their own attire, Akha girls equip their dolls with a "girl's bonnet" made of leaves.

[See cat. 116, p 88 - ANALYST]

/61 cont./

In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such, I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

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/68 cont./

A M 524 526 171 is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can there be any thought of influences coming from Europe. Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the frequent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect a common origin.

A M 541 171 [525] There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are sometimes arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks, as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples. Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A M 857 561 [252] Children begin to perform work at the age of four among both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect firewood (Ill. 38), which they carry home in their own small wood /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields, carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93), and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers,

A M [203] a particularly important task in a country where there is neither mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A M 857 561 461 Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games, there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

1 [See cat. 116, p 272 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , p 643 - "]

/69 cont./

A M 857 561 461 is first of all adjusted to their physical strength; in short, the playful imitation of adult activity is automatically replaced by actual work as soon as the necessary strength is there. Secondly, the work depends upon the seasons since, in general, the work of the Meau is conditioned by them.

Otherwise, there is no regulation of activity, either within the work group or with respect to the time that is to be spent at work and at play. Everything is arranged according to the work of the adults, into which all the children are always drawn. At the time when the fields are cultivated or when new villages are to be laid out, everyone must work uninterruptedly according to his strength from dawn to dusk, but during the period after the harvest there are long stretches of leisure, and the days are then filled with laughter and games. In any case, there is no more importance attached to a child's reaching the working age than to his completion of the sixth year, which is so significant for our children.

/70/ In general, it can be said that both sexes at about the age of sixteen are fully able to perform the work of the adults.

2. The Children's Group

A M 857 [156] As soon as the children of the Meau and Akha are three or four years old, they are admitted into the children's group (Ill. 14). Even earlier, however, they are taken along by their older siblings, on whose backs they participate in the games. There seems to be hardly any eccentrics among the children; at any rate, I never saw a child going about by himself.

M 857 157 The composition of the children's group varies greatly and depends on which children happen to have free time. Among the Meau, the leader of the group is always the child present at the moment who is physically the strongest, although there is no noticeable competition for the position of leader. All of them, however, know exactly who is the strongest, and accordingly they submit to him without demur. Sometimes there are scuffles within the group. Competition

/70 cont./

M 857 157 is noticeable in the children's groups of the Meau only in those games already described in which great emphasis is put on performance. Vying in speech, however, the so-called "showing off," does not seem to be customary.

A 857 157 Among the Akha things are done in a somewhat more brutal way, as the games described show. Accordingly, two children's groups more conspicuously separated by sex are formed here. The one includes all boys from three to thirteen years of age who happen to be "off duty," who are led with sheer force by the physically strongest boy. In this group there is intense rivalry for the role of leader, and there are often wild fights until the strongest has asserted himself.

A 573 157 [857] [589] A second group is made up of small girls, and a third of all older girls, widows, and divorced women who want to marry again. The leader of this third group is usually a merry widow. In this group there is no particular rivalry for leadership, which is not attained through mere strength, but through /71/ special intelligence. Nothing like a test of intelligence plays any role in this, but rather the woman to whom the rest naturally defer in the course of time becomes the leader.

A 857 These children's groups of the Akha are numerically very strong. This follows merely from the aforementioned size of the Akha villages and the extraordinary fertility of their inhabitants. One scarcely finds a group of less than twenty members. The activity of these groups begins chiefly in the evening, after the day's work has been done, and reaches its peak after sunset. Even as late as 10 o'clock we frequently heard these children shrieking and shouting at their games. After sunset,

A [535] some of the Akha girls set out for the dance places, to which a few precocious boys also come, sometimes accompanied by smaller comrades (see also the section on "Sexual Development" in this chapter). Like the children of the Meau, but to a much

A M [157] greater extent, the Akha children live in the present; they talk a great deal and are very active.

/74 cont./

A 881 of sexual enjoyment, all their thoughts are now concentrated upon sexual life, which is enjoyed to the full. The only [883] difference as compared to the earlier state is a purely external [291] feature in the clothing. In place of the children's caps, the girls now wear the bamboo covering and the boys the turban as a sign of maturity (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Fig. 228 and Fig. 229 and Colored Pl. I, Nos. 7 and 8).

A M 881 Otherwise, puberty does not bring about any change in the way of life among either the Akha or Meau. They perform their duties in the same manner as before (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"), are not secluded, and speak little about their past childhood.

5. Attitude toward Animals

A M 231 Although the same conditions seem to prevail among both peoples, there are basic differences between the Meau and the Akha in their attitude toward animals.

M 231 857 The children of both peoples come into contact with animals a good deal. In general, the children of the Meau love animals very much and like to spend their time with the domesticated animals. Only the pigs are definitely /75/ disliked. This is explained by the fact that the children of both peoples have to tend the pigs, and carrying their food is heavy work that is sometimes almost beyond the strength of the children (Ill. 44).[1] Dogs, on the other hand, are especially well liked. The children play tussle, and frolic about with them, and sometimes the children amuse themselves by exchanging roles with the dogs. Then the child plays the part of the dog, and the dog, whose hair is combed up like that of a child, represents the child. They talk to them, and until they are seven or eight, the children believe that the dog understands every word. They like to have the dog join various games in which parts are played; he will represent a cow or bull, is saddled, and the like. Compared with the importance of the dog, that of the other animals caught for play, such as mice, birds, butterflies, small beetles, is very little. The insects caught are allowed to fly around within the range of a

1 A [See ref. 116, p296 - ANALYST]
2 A [" " " , p 120+ "]

AKha A04
M.ao AE5

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, A M [262] eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly A [857] observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils." Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

1/2 [see cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

/82 cont./

A M 153 861 [157] the Meau. If they do not receive an adequate or satisfactory answer, they soon go on to something else. They themselves never try to explain unfamiliar things; on the otherhand, /83/ with strangers they are more active and less self-conscious in their questioning than the Meau children, who, to be sure, are curious, but remain shyly in the background.

Most of the children ask many questions, but there are also some who ask few. They want an explanation for everything that is inexplicable to them. They ask why the trees grow, who makes the rice, what kind of spirits there are, why the dog barks, why the father goes hunting, why one hurts himself when he falls down, why birds fly, and so forth. The adults attempt to answer these questions truthfully and to the best of their ability, but sometimes they themselves are at a loss. If they are unable to answer a question, they say: "Oh, you already know more than I do, why do you ask me?"

A M 153 856 145 As far as learning ability is concerned, the Meau children, according to my observations, are extremely gifted; in my estimation, at least up to the age of six they are hardly less gifted than European children of the same age. The Akha children are somewhat less gifted. In all practical aspects and in the use of their bodies, the children of the Meau and Akha are more skillful and especially more perservering and much tougher than children of the Schan /Shan/ and Lao at the same age.

A M [871] Comparisons with European children in school could not be made, since in northern Thailand neither the Meau nor Akha children visit any schools. Besides, there were no European children there as a basis for comparison.

8. Art in the Life of Children

A M 857 [534] The musical instruments of the adults (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments") are precious and are not given to the children. I could not find any instruments for children, not even any that could be regarded as relics on the path of the development of the art. At most it

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/83 cont./

A M 857 [534] [538] may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, however, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M 533 M [868] [535] The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A 535 857 868 It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A M 532 Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[1 A] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

[1 A] [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

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/Between pp. 346 and 347/

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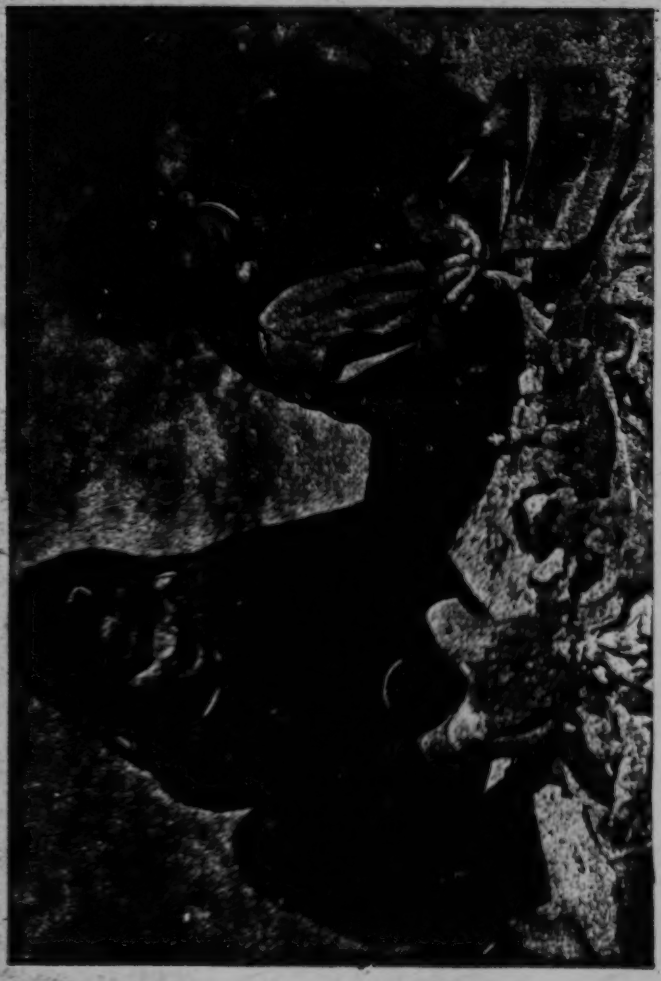

Ill. 65. A favorite game of Meau boys is modeling animal and human figures in clay.

/352 cont./

226 ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools.
[278] It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60 [285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the [857] young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At [165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to [136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets, [227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

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/Opposite p. 378/

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Ill. 67. Nine-year-old Meau girl at the drawing test.

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Ill. 68. Meau children make chains out of fragrant blossoms.

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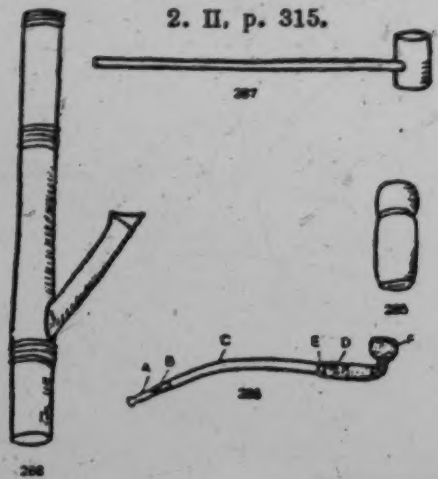
Miao AE5

/380 cont./

276 [171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2), 2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
[241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

[241] Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[231] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest. Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
● 857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

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Miao AES

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, [462] though the actual care of small children is women's work.

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. [854] It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger

39: Bernatzik--724 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.